



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

## VII.—A STUDY OF POPE'S *IMITATIONS* OF HORACE.

Dr. Johnson said of Pope's *Imitations of the Satires and Epistles of Horace* that they "cannot give pleasure to common readers; the man of learning may be sometimes surprised and delighted by an unexpected parallel; but the comparison requires knowledge of the original, which will likewise often detect strained applications. Between Roman images and English manners there will be an irreconcilable dissimilitude, and the works will be generally uncouth and party-coloured; neither original nor translated, neither ancient nor modern."<sup>1</sup> It is not necessary to refute, what no one now maintains, that these *Imitations*<sup>2</sup> cannot give pleasure to common readers, that they appeal only to men of learning by their unexpected parallels to the original, or that they are generally uncouth. It remains, then, to discover how far the rest of this criticism holds good as well as to investigate Pope's methods in rendering his original.

### ADAPTATION OF ROMAN TO ENGLISH CONDITIONS.

The most obvious parallels which Pope would need to draw were those which would give to his *Imitations* the tone and character of eighteenth century life. These occupy a range from the most general references to the facts of history and geography to those touching upon the particular institutions and customs of the poet's country and the special conditions of his environment. Some of the parallels are very simple, being merely the change of a modern for an ancient name, such as France for Greece,<sup>3</sup> Oxford for Athens,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Johnson's *Life of Pope*, Arnold's ed., p. 424.

<sup>2</sup> The *Imitations* are indicated by Roman numerals from I to VI, corresponding respectively to *Sat.* II, i, ii; *Ep.* I, i, vi; II, i, ii.

<sup>3</sup> v, 263.

<sup>4</sup> VI, 56, 116.

a German prince for the king of the Cappadocians,<sup>1</sup> Edward III. and Henry V. for Romulus,<sup>2</sup> George II. for Augustus;<sup>3</sup> these are hardly more than tags indicating the change of scene and age. Such are also allusions to current events,<sup>4</sup> which are incidentally introduced. It is not by these general references that the spirit of the eighteenth century can be caught; this Pope seeks to do by the parallels drawn in the special conditions of English political, social and domestic life, in the personal allusions from his own circle of friends or foes, and in autobiographical details. Whenever, too, he infuses his own individuality into his *Imitations*, he binds the separate details into a unity as artistic as it is complete.

*Politics.*—In his references to political parties and issues Pope has no great difficulty in marking off very distinctly the England of his day from the Rome of Horace's. The Roman poet, speaking of his origin, says that he is "Lucanus an Apulus anceps;"<sup>5</sup> the Englishman, disregarding the allusion to birth, substitutes for it a declaration which much more intimately concerns him and his relation to the public, dealing, as it does, with his professional and party opinions:—

Verse-man or Prose-man, term me what you will,  
Papist or Protestant or both between,  
Like good Erasmus placing all my glory,  
While Tories call me Whig, and Whigs a Tory.<sup>6</sup>

For Horace's "haud ignobilis Argis,"<sup>7</sup> who took pleasure in a theatre of his own imagination, Pope substitutes less wisely "a worthy member, no small fool, a Lord," who from being a distinguished Patriot was "purged to a single vote."<sup>8</sup> Further references from politics to the Ministers,<sup>9</sup> the Court,<sup>10</sup> pensions,<sup>11</sup> state spies,<sup>12</sup> and the Levee,<sup>13</sup> give the tone of contemporary life.

<sup>1</sup> IV, 83.

<sup>4</sup> I, 75; II, 133-5, 154.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep.* II, ii, 128.

<sup>10</sup> I, 92; III, 98, 119; V, 170.

<sup>12</sup> I, 134.

<sup>2</sup> V, 7.

<sup>5</sup> *Sat.* II, i, 34.

<sup>8</sup> VI, 185.

<sup>3</sup> V, Dedication.

<sup>6</sup> I, 64.

<sup>9</sup> I, 76; III, 96; V, 376.

<sup>11</sup> I, 116; III, 87.

<sup>13</sup> IV, 101.

Trebatius warns Horace of the danger of his writing ill verses against any one contrary to law;<sup>1</sup> and Pope finds statutes in English law which correspond—

Consult the statute; *quart.* I think it is,  
*Edwardi sext. or prim. et quint. Eliz.*  
 See Libels, Satires.<sup>2</sup>

When Trebatius advises Horace to sing Caesar's praise the poet replies—

Haud mihi deero,  
 Quum res ipsa feret. Nisi dextro tempore, Flacci  
 Verba per attentam non ibunt Caesaris aurem.<sup>3</sup>

This Pope makes peculiarly modern by turning it into a satire on the reigning Laureate Cibber—

Alas! few verses touch their finer ear;  
 They scarce can hear their Laureate twice a year.<sup>4</sup>

When Horace speaks in a general way of stripping the skin from the hypocrite,<sup>5</sup> Pope more specifically levels his satire at the "proud gamester in his gilded car" and "the mean heart that lurks beneath a star,"<sup>6</sup> thus giving the modern touch. In Horace's

Virtutem verba putas et  
 Lucum ligna.<sup>7</sup>

Pope seizes the opportunity of making a reference to the church—

Who Virtue and a church alike disowns,  
 Thinks that but words and this but sticks and stones.<sup>8</sup>

The sycophancy of the chaplains of the great houses<sup>9</sup> Pope

<sup>1</sup> *Sat.* II, i, 82.

<sup>2</sup> I, 146. Other references to legal matters are found in II, 172; III, 173; V, 197; VI, 60, 127.

<sup>3</sup> *Sat.* II, i, 17.

<sup>4</sup> I, 33. Cf. also I, 21, V, 377, and for small poets I, 140.

<sup>5</sup> *Sat.* II, i, 64.

<sup>6</sup> I, 107. Cf. IV, 14; III, 98; I, 39; II, 39; IV, 49; VI, 69, 184.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep.* I, vi, 31.

<sup>8</sup> IV, 65.

<sup>9</sup> VI, 220 f. Other references to matters ecclesiastical are, I, 110, 113, 152; II, 80, 119; III, 3; IV, 27, 65; V, 161, 236; VI, 62.

satirizes without a correspondent in his original. Horace inveighs against the greed of his day in these words:—

Pars hominum gestit conducere publica, sunt qui  
Crustis et pomis viduas venentur avaras  
Excipiantque senes, quos in vivaria mittant.<sup>1</sup>

This Pope, with an eye to the special forms which this vice took in his own day, renders thus—

Some farm the Poor-box, some the pews;  
Some keep assemblies and would keep the stews;  
Some with fat bucks on childless dotards fawn;  
Some win rich widows by their chine and brawn;  
While with the silent growth of ten per-cent,  
In dirt and darkness hundreds stink content.<sup>2</sup>

*London.*—The references to the city of London, its various quarters, and its inhabitants are frequent in these *Imitations*; and as the life and literature of the eighteenth century centred in the town, they give an English flavor entirely distinct from Roman associations. In the majority of cases these allusions are direct additions. Thus we have a mere passing mention of London in “Abuse the city’s best good men in metre,”<sup>3</sup> with no corresponding Latin.<sup>4</sup> Certain localities are specified in “Bedlam or the Mint,”<sup>5</sup> which give a local habitation to Horace’s “inops,”<sup>6</sup> Pope revealing at the same time more caustic satire. “From low St. James’s up to high St. Paul’s”<sup>7</sup> is also a very apt rendering of Horace’s “Janus summus ab imo,”<sup>8</sup> since there is in addition to the local meaning the obvious reference to the high and low parties in the church, and perhaps in the word “low” to the meanness of the court.<sup>9</sup> When Horace speaks of the different parts of the city to which he is summoned by importunate friends—the Aventine, the Quirinal,<sup>10</sup> etc.—Pope finds parallels in Palace Yard, Bloomsbury Square, the House of Lords, and

<sup>1</sup> *Ep.* I, i, 77.

<sup>2</sup> *III*, 128. Cf. also I, 72, 103; II, 106; V, 195.

<sup>3</sup> I, 39.

<sup>4</sup> So *III*, 79; V, 170, 370. Cf. also *III*, 139.

<sup>5</sup> I, 99.

<sup>6</sup> *Sat.* II, i, 59.

<sup>7</sup> *III*, 82.

<sup>8</sup> *Ep.* I, i, 54. <sup>9</sup> See E. Courthope, *Pope’s Works*, ad. loc. <sup>10</sup> *Ep.* II, ii, 65 f.

the theatre.<sup>1</sup> The purely modern Lord Mayor's banquet and a clergy feast<sup>2</sup> are the more concrete equivalent of the Latin "coena dubia."<sup>3</sup> In the same connection may be mentioned Pope's very clever double version of Horace's "senescentem equum"<sup>4</sup> in—

Friend Pope! be prudent, let your muse take breath,  
And never gallop Pegasus to death;  
Lest stiff and stately, void of fire or force,  
You limp like Blackmore on a Lord Mayor's horse.<sup>5</sup>

*The Play.*—The Italian opera was a shining mark for eighteenth century satire. Pope easily converts Horace's reference to "lacrimosa poemata Pupi"<sup>6</sup> into a fling at the effeminacy of the opera—

To have a box where eunuchs sing  
And foremost in the circle eye a king;<sup>7</sup>

and "Nunc tibicinibus, nunc est gavisa tragoedis"<sup>8</sup> into

The willing muses were debauched at court:  
On each enervate string they taught the note  
To pant, or tremble thro' an eunuch's throat.<sup>9</sup>

Horace has an allusion to theatrical affairs in his incident of Lucullus, who was asked for a hundred cloaks for a play (Chlamydes centum scenae);<sup>10</sup> Pope uses only the reference to the theatre and makes that entirely modern—

Or if three ladies like a luckless play,  
Takes the whole house upon the poet's day.<sup>11</sup>

Horace's wrestling<sup>12</sup> is changed to a sport more peculiar to modern times and more in keeping with Pope's satirical intent, that of "tumbling through a hoop."<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> vi, 94f. Cf. also ii, 42, 120; iii, 84, 110, 113; v, 144, 355, 419; vi, 113, 209, 232.      <sup>2</sup> ii, 75.      <sup>3</sup> *Sat.* ii, ii, 76.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep.* i, i, 8.      <sup>5</sup> iii, 15f. Cf. also ii, 178; iii, 89.      <sup>6</sup> *Ep.* i, i, 67.

<sup>7</sup> iii, 105.      <sup>8</sup> *Ep.* ii, i, 98.      <sup>9</sup> v, 152. Cf. also vi, 11.

<sup>10</sup> *Ep.* i, vi, 41.      <sup>11</sup> iv, 87.      <sup>12</sup> *Ep.* ii, i, 33.

<sup>13</sup> v, 48. Cf. v, 161, 305, 309, 316, 326.

*Domestic life.*—Pope's care to adapt conditions of Roman to those of English life extends to the smallest details. Even when Horace speaks of a heavy storm as preserving the fish from him and his guest,<sup>1</sup> Pope brings in the conditions of a more northern climate—"or fish denied (the river yet unthawed)."<sup>2</sup> In Horace's Satire on Temperance there is mention of various kinds of dishes for which Pope obtains English equivalents. Thus for the peacock<sup>3</sup> he substitutes the pheasant, for "porrectum magno magnum . . . catino" he has a "whole hog barbecued."<sup>4</sup> So, for "Tutus erat rhombus tutoque ciconia nido"<sup>5</sup> he writes—

"The robin red-breast till of late had rest,  
And children sacred held a martin's nest,  
Till beccaficos sold so devilish dear  
To one that was or would have been a peer."<sup>6</sup>

For the "mergos assos"<sup>7</sup> which the Roman youth will accept on the word of some "potential voice" as "delicious game," Pope suggests equally strange dishes, of greater point to Englishmen—

Let me extol a cat, on oysters fed,  
I'll have a party at the Bedford-head;  
Or even to crack live Crawfish recommend;  
I'd never doubt at court to have a friend.<sup>8</sup>

For the specific sports which Ofella recommends to Horace, such as following the hare, breaking in a horse, playing at ball, hurling the quoit,<sup>9</sup> Pope, with his characteristic contempt for what he could not do, bundles them under the general "go work, hunt, exercise,"<sup>10</sup> and herein departs from his usual custom of making his details concrete. In the same

<sup>1</sup> *Sat.* II, ii, 16.

<sup>2</sup> II, 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Sat.* II, ii, 23.

<sup>4</sup> II, 26.

<sup>5</sup> *Sat.* II, ii, 49.

<sup>6</sup> II, 37.

<sup>7</sup> *Sat.* II, ii, 51.

<sup>8</sup> II, 41 f. Other instances of a similar character are "rank venison" (II, 91) for Horace's "randidum aprum" (*Sat.* II, ii, 89), "fresh sturgeon and ham-pie" (II, 103), "gudgeons, flounders," etc. (II, 142 f.), in the description of the poet's simple fare for Horace's list in *Sat.* II, ii, 120-125; So, also, II, 51.

<sup>9</sup> *Sat.* II, ii, 9 f.

<sup>10</sup> II, 11.

spirit he disregards the first part of Trebatius's prescription for sleeplessness—"Ter uncti Transnanto Tiberim," etc.,<sup>1</sup> and renders the second—

Irriguumque mero sub noctem corpus habento<sup>2</sup>

by advising him to take "Lettuce and cowslip-wine, . . . Hartshorn or something that will close your eyes,"<sup>3</sup> favorite sleeping potions of Pope's day. And to this he adds a recommendation as characteristic of himself as of his contemporaries—"If the nights seem tedious—take a wife."<sup>4</sup>

When Horace wishes to point out to Maecenas the fickleness of the poorer classes, he says—

mutat coenacula, lectos,  
Balnea, tonsores, conducto navigio aequè  
Nauseat ac locuples, quum ducit priva triremis.<sup>5</sup>

Pope fills this out with further details peculiar to his time,—

They change their weekly barber, weekly news,  
Prefer a new Japanner to their shoes,  
Discharge their garrets, move their beds, and run  
(They know not whither) in a chaise and one;  
They hire their sculler, and when once aboard,  
Grow sick and damn the climate—like a lord.<sup>6</sup>

*Dress.*—In the same connection his treatment of the details of personal adornment is worthy of notice. Horace speaks of Maecenas's ridiculing him if his hair is awkwardly cut, if his gown is askew, or if his shirt is ragged while his tunic is new.<sup>7</sup> This Pope fits into strict eighteenth century fashions,—

You laugh, half beau, half sloven if I stand,  
My wig all powder and all snuff my band;  
You laugh, if coat and breeches strangely vary,  
White gloves and linen worthy Lady Mary!  
But where no Prelate's lawn with hair-shirt lined,<sup>8</sup> etc.

So the "bedizened actor" arouses immediate applause in Horace's time because of his "woollen mantle with the violet

<sup>1</sup> *Sat.* II, i, 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Sat.* II, i, 9.

<sup>3</sup> I, 20.

<sup>4</sup> I, 16.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep.* I, i, 91.

<sup>6</sup> III, 155 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep.* II, i, 94.

<sup>8</sup> III, 161.



dye,"<sup>1</sup> and in Pope's by "Cato's long wig, flow'r'd gown, and lacquered chair,"<sup>2</sup> which would recall to the English reader the leading actor in Addison's *Cato*. In the same way Pope's reference in "Birthday nobles' splendid livery"<sup>3</sup> recalls a distinctively English function.

#### PERSONAL ALLUSIONS.

*Particular.*—The personal allusions in the *Imitations* either are direct correspondences of those in Horace, are suggested by his context, or are wholly additional. Sometimes we find that the persons in the *Imitation* are of a quite different character from those in the corresponding part of the original. Thus, where Horace speaks with full appreciation of the work of his predecessor, Lucilius,<sup>4</sup> who wrote the praise of Scipio, Pope in the parallel passage, instead of following Horace, mercilessly attacks Blackmore, who had crowded the verse "With arms and George and Brunswick,"<sup>5</sup> satirizes "Budgel's fire and force,"<sup>6</sup> and ridicules the Laureate Cibber.<sup>7</sup> Usually Pope changes the Latin name to an English one, and when he retains it in "Great Caesar's praise,"<sup>8</sup> it is merely for the purpose of an intentionally thin disguise. Horace, in giving examples of the fancies of separate minds, with mild satire mentions Milonius, who dances

"Ut semel icto

Accessit fervor capiti numerusque lucernis.

Castor gaudet equis; ovo prognatus eodem

Pugnis."<sup>9</sup>

This is too good a chance for the display of Pope's satirical wit to be missed—

<sup>1</sup>*Ep.* II, i, 207: Lana Tarentino violas imitata veneno.

<sup>2</sup>*v.* 337.

<sup>3</sup>*IV*, 33. Note, too, Pope's reference to "taste" in this connection, with which compare I, 38, where it corresponds to Horace's "Pantolabum scurram" (*Sat.* II, i, 22), and II, 112.

<sup>4</sup>*Sat.* II, i, 17.

<sup>5</sup>I, 23.

<sup>6</sup>I, 27.

<sup>7</sup>I, 35. Cf. also I, 52, 111 f.; III, 6.

<sup>8</sup>I, 21.

<sup>9</sup>*Sat.* II, i, 24 f.

None deny  
 Scarsdale his bottle, Darty his ham-pie;  
 Ridotta sips and dances, till she see  
 The double lustres dance as fast as she;  
 F—— loves the Senate, Hockley-hole his brother.<sup>1</sup>

Pope follows Horace<sup>2</sup> in exposing the unjust judge in Page<sup>3</sup> and the jealous woman in Delia;<sup>3</sup> but instead of seeking an exact correspondent for Horace's political informer he characteristically seizes the opportunity for shedding his venom on his sworn enemy, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu—

From furious Sappho scarce a milder fate,  
 P—x'd by her love and libelled by her hate.<sup>4</sup>

In the same way he doubles the Latin Scaeva<sup>5</sup> in Walters and Chartres, who will “never poison you, they'll only cheat.”<sup>6</sup> Horace, who does not spare his satire in speaking of the meanness of Avidienus, who, he says, was rightly called a dog,<sup>7</sup> is followed by Pope, who employs the identical name as a screen for attacking Wortley Montagu and for defaming his wife under the drastic epithets of “dog” and “bitch”<sup>8</sup> respectively. It gave Pope his answer, if he were charged with slandering Montagu and his wife. It is only rarely that Pope transcribes directly from the Latin; he probably had no one particularly in mind in Albutius and Naevius,<sup>9</sup> who in Horace also are mere names to us.

Horace, speaking of the gluttony of his fellow Romans, compares them to the crew of Ulysses,<sup>10</sup> thus depending on the familiarity of the story for the full effect of the comparison. Pope leaves nothing to be supplied, and, substituting Kinnoul and Tyrawley for Ulysses, he brings into full significance the legend of Circe,—

Or shall we every decency confound,  
 Thro' taverns, stews, and Bagnios take our round,  
 Go dine with Chartres, in each vice outdo  
 K——l's lewd cargo, or Ty——y's crew,

<sup>1</sup> I, 45 f.<sup>2</sup> *Sat.* II, i, 42 f.<sup>3</sup> I, 81 f.<sup>4</sup> I, 83 f.<sup>5</sup> *Sat.* II, i, 53 f.<sup>6</sup> I, 89.<sup>7</sup> *Sat.* II, ii, 56.<sup>8</sup> II, 49.<sup>9</sup> II, 64.<sup>10</sup> *Ep.* I, vi, 63.

From Latin Syrens, French Circean feasts,  
Return well travelled, and transformed to beasts,  
Or for a titled punk, or foreign flame,  
Renounce our country, and degrade our name?<sup>1</sup>

To find English poets who would correspond with any degree of exactness to the Latin ones of Horace's *Epistle to Augustus* was well-nigh impossible. Consequently Pope departs considerably from his original in matters of detail, though preserving the main outlines of the Latin. For Horace's ancient models, which his benighted contemporaries would regard as framed by the Muses—the Twelve Tables, the treaties between the Gabians and Rome, the books of the pontiffs, etc.<sup>2</sup>—Pope substitutes, with a complete disregard of any parallelism in the matter of literary value, "Chaucer's worse ribaldry," "beastly Skelton," the "language of the Faery Queen," the Scotch "Christ's Kirk o' the Green," and the "British Ben."<sup>3</sup> The parallel lies in what Pope regards as the blemishes of these works. Ennius<sup>4</sup> in Horace is represented by Shakspere and Ben Jonson<sup>5</sup> in Pope, though it is clear the correspondence is far from exact. Pope will sometimes make one poet stand for more than one in the Latin; thus Shakspere corresponds to Ennius,<sup>6</sup> Atta,<sup>7</sup> and Sophocles;<sup>8</sup> matching Alexander and Choerilus<sup>9</sup> Pope has Charles I. and Quarles, and William III. and Blackmore,<sup>10</sup>—the last being introduced for the purpose of satire.

While Horace in *Sat.* II, ii, speaks of the hospitality of Ofella, Pope lays aside Bethel, who up to this has corresponded to Ofella, and makes his father and himself the subject of the rest of the *Imitation*.<sup>11</sup>

Pope, for the most part, avoids general and indefinite terms and uses instead concrete and specific ones. Thus, for Horace's "populus Romanus,"<sup>12</sup> he substitutes the indi-

<sup>1</sup> IV, 118 f.<sup>4</sup> *Ep.* II, i, 50.<sup>7</sup> V, 119; *Ep.* II, i, 79.<sup>10</sup> V, 380 f.<sup>2</sup> *Ep.* II, i, 23.<sup>5</sup> V, 69.<sup>8</sup> V, 277; *Ep.* II, i, 163.<sup>11</sup> II, 129 f. Cf. III, 25 f.<sup>3</sup> V, 37 f.<sup>6</sup> V, 69.<sup>9</sup> *Ep.* II, i, 232 f.<sup>12</sup> *Ep.* I, i, 70.

vidual S[chut]z;<sup>1</sup> and he even invents the name, "Sir Job,"<sup>2</sup> for the Latin "dives."<sup>3</sup> So, for the Horatian "oblitus actor"<sup>4</sup> no less than two actors and one actress—Quin, Booth, and Oldfield<sup>5</sup>—are mentioned.

The cases in which Pope introduces personal allusions without any actual correspondents in Horace are more numerous than those with full or partial correspondents. They are usually of a satirical nature and include some of the cleverest parts of the *Imitations*. By means of these he reveals his own personality, gives concreteness to the general statement of Horace, and helps to give the tone and character of the eighteenth century. To Horace's

Sunt quibus in satira videor nimis acer et ultra  
Legem tendere opus,<sup>6</sup>

Pope adds—

Scarce to wise Peter<sup>7</sup> complaisant enough  
And something said of Chartres much too rough;<sup>8</sup>

and to Horace's most indefinite remark—

pars esse putat similesque meorum  
Mille die versus deduci posse<sup>9</sup>—

he gives the personal touch in

Lord Fanny spins a thousand such a day.<sup>10</sup>

And a little farther on in the same satire he adds to Horace's general observation that every man fears the satirist's tongue,<sup>11</sup> the disguised allusions—

A hundred smart in Timon and in Balaam.<sup>12</sup>

A passing allusion to his enemies, the dunces, fixes a dart, as in "Like Lee and Budgel I will rhyme and print,"<sup>13</sup> where Horace has merely "scribam."<sup>14</sup> In a similar way he trans-

<sup>1</sup> III, 112.

<sup>2</sup> III, 138.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep.* I, i, 84.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep.* II, i, 204.

<sup>5</sup> *v.* 330 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Sat.* II, i, 1 f.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. also I, 40; *v.* 197.

<sup>8</sup> I, 3.

<sup>9</sup> *Sat.* II, i, 3 f.

<sup>10</sup> I, 5; cf. II, 100.

<sup>11</sup> *Sat.* II, i, 23.

<sup>12</sup> I, 42.

<sup>13</sup> I, 100.

<sup>14</sup> *Sat.* II, i, 60.

fixes Blackmore in "You limp like Blackmore on a Lord Mayor's horse,"<sup>1</sup> which corresponds to Horace's "ilia ducat."<sup>2</sup> In the same manner he bundles together three more in

Like journals, odes, and such forgotten things  
As Eusden, Philips, Settle writ of kings,<sup>3</sup>

to give personality to Horace's "scriptore meo."<sup>4</sup>

Horace's example of the ambitious citizen who desires enough wealth to give him the honors of the state<sup>5</sup> Pope contorts into the case of the wealthy London citizen whose wealth alone will not gratify his desires for social position, and characterizes this position as assured by

A pension or such harness for a slave  
As Bug now has, and Dorimant would have.<sup>6</sup>

When Horace speaks of his ragged shirt,<sup>7</sup> Pope makes a nasty allusion to "linen worthy Lady Mary."<sup>8</sup> Horace's simple "quaere fugam morbi"<sup>9</sup> affords Pope an opening for satirizing Ward and Dover, two notorious quacks.<sup>10</sup> For Suadela,<sup>11</sup> Pope makes Anstis, the Garter King of Arms, the more effective inventor of aristocratic origins in modern times.<sup>12</sup> Lely and his painting<sup>13</sup> correspond to the impersonal "picta tabella"<sup>14</sup> of Horace; Ward, Radcliffe, and Ripley<sup>15</sup> to the pilots, physicians, and artisans of Horace;<sup>16</sup> Dryden, Roscommon,<sup>17</sup> Hopkins and Sternhold,<sup>18</sup> to Horace's "Vatis."<sup>19</sup> Horace's exposition of the relation of landlord and tenant in the matter of daily food gives Pope a chance for again satirizing the meanness of Wortley Montagu.<sup>20</sup>

As may have been noticed, the tone of Pope's personal allusions is keener and more bitter than that of Horace's good natured satire. His attitude towards mankind, as well

<sup>1</sup> III, 16; cf. VI, 112.    <sup>2</sup> *Ep.* II, i, 9.    <sup>3</sup> V, 416.    <sup>4</sup> *Ep.* II, i, 268.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep.* II, i, 57.

<sup>6</sup> III, 87 f.; cf. VI, 274-7.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep.* I, i, 95.

<sup>8</sup> III, 164.

<sup>9</sup> *Ep.* I, vi, 29.

<sup>10</sup> IV, 56; cf. II, 61, 64; VI, 70.

<sup>11</sup> *Ep.* I, vi, 38.

<sup>12</sup> IV, 82.

<sup>13</sup> V, 149.

<sup>14</sup> *Ep.* II, i, 97.

<sup>15</sup> V, 182.

<sup>16</sup> *Ep.* II, i, 114.

<sup>17</sup> V, 213.

<sup>18</sup> V, 230.

<sup>19</sup> *Ep.* II, i, 119.

<sup>20</sup> VI, 234.

as towards individuals, lacks the gracious urbanity which distinguishes the Roman poet. He often thrusts in the sting of a personality where Horace is content to make such a general criticism as can offend no one.

*General.*—In his criticism of mankind his attitude is often that of self-satisfied superiority. He writes because “fools rush into his head;”<sup>1</sup> and his weapon, satire, he wears only in a “land of Hectors, Thieves, supercargoes, sharpers, and directors,”<sup>2</sup> an enlargement of Horace’s impersonal “infestis latronibus.”<sup>3</sup> Like Horace he has a contempt for the mob, which, translating “*Bellua multorum capitum*,”<sup>4</sup> he calls the “many-headed beast.”<sup>5</sup> In the same way he speaks of

The many-headed monster of the Pit;  
A senseless, worthless, and unhonoured crowd;<sup>6</sup>

which expresses more vehemently the Latin—

Indocti, stolidique et depugnare parati.<sup>7</sup>

He is not much less severe on the lovers of farce, whether they be mob or lords,<sup>8</sup> and on theatre-goers who unthinkingly praise stage favorites.<sup>9</sup>

His unknown defamers, whether scribblers or peers, are alike mob to him.<sup>10</sup> Under the same heading he classes the miscellany writers—“the mob of gentlemen who wrote with ease.”<sup>11</sup> Even Shakspeare, too, he treats with characteristic flippancy—

Whom you and every play-house bill  
Style the divine, the matchless, what you will.<sup>12</sup>

The clergy who sink their souls in a banquet,<sup>13</sup> the Prelates, whose lawn lined with hair-shirt, is only less incoherent than his disordered mind,<sup>14</sup> the saint run mad—the worst of madmen<sup>15</sup>—the servile chaplains, who shamelessly flatter their

<sup>1</sup> I, 14.

<sup>5</sup> III, 121.

<sup>9</sup> V, 330; cf. *Ep.* II, i, 207.

<sup>12</sup> V, 69.

<sup>2</sup> I, 71.

<sup>6</sup> V, 305 f.

<sup>10</sup> I, 139.

<sup>13</sup> II, 79.

<sup>3</sup> *Sat.* II, i, 42.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep.* II, i, 184.

<sup>11</sup> V, 108; cf. l. 187; VI, 153.

<sup>14</sup> III, 165.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep.* I, i, 76.

<sup>8</sup> V, 310, 322.

<sup>15</sup> IV, 27.

masters of the nobility,<sup>1</sup> show with what scorn he regarded the church and its corrupt or bigoted clergy. All this, too, is, of course, without a parallel in Horace.

#### THE PERSONALITY OF THE IMITATOR.

Pope frequently adds to his original in matters of personal concern, such as the revelation of his character, the defence made necessary by the many charges preferred against him, the province of his art, and details of biography. Sometimes these are based on similar confessions by Horace or on statements made in reference to others. Occasionally they are playfully uttered with no intention that they be taken seriously; and at other times they are deliberately used to deceive the public. Comparison with Horace shows that while the latter's poems were largely personal, they do not bring out in such prominence the individuality of the poet. In these *Imitations* Pope is hardly ever unconscious of self; and his poetry is always most effective when it is most personal.

His professions of moral purpose in his work, placed beside the unquestionably immoral transactions in his life, are apt to sound hollow. When he says, for instance,—

I love to pour out all myself as plain  
As downright Shippen to as old Montaigne<sup>2</sup>—

which is based on Horace's statement that he seeks to imitate Lucilius, who had revealed himself in his books,<sup>3</sup>—one remembers the many intrigues which give the lie to his professions. At the same time this is not to be taken as a mere transcribing of the Horatian text without regard to his own convictions, nor is it an entirely insincere profession. It may be matched by many others in his poetry, which stand for genuine feeling, even though they seem to clash with his conduct. When he declares—

<sup>1</sup> vi, 220.

<sup>2</sup> I, 51.

<sup>3</sup> *Sat.* II, i, 33.

In this impartial glass, my Muse intends  
Fair to expose myself, my foes, my friends,<sup>1</sup>

he is stating what he believes to be true, which, however, neither Pope nor any other poet can make absolutely true. His temperament and not his will alone prevented his being fair to friends and foes and even himself. He places in moderation all his glory<sup>2</sup>—without hint from Horace—and copies the equal mind of Bethel—

Who always speaks his thought  
And always thinks the very thing he ought<sup>3</sup>—

also additional—which he not unwisely modifies with “what I can.”

He confesses natural timidity and awe of the rich<sup>4</sup> in a spirit which is not intended to be taken seriously. A few lines later he says he nods in company,<sup>5</sup> a confession which recalls the incident of his nodding at his own table when the Prince of Wales was discoursing on poetry. This ironical awe of the rich may be contrasted with his claim of virtuous happiness—

Content with little I can piddle here  
On brocoli and mutton, round the year<sup>6</sup>—

which corresponds to what Horace said of Ofella,<sup>7</sup>—and with his profession of hospitality to his guests,<sup>8</sup> which are not well borne out by Dr. Johnson's story of his leaving his guests to the remnants of a pint bottle of wine. The complaisance shown in this account of the dinner is well matched by the preliminary grace, the merit of which lay in its having been said by a poet.<sup>9</sup> As Leslie Stephen says, “a grace in which Bolingbroke joined could not have been a very impressive ceremony.”<sup>10</sup>

Following Horace, he complains of Bolingbroke's breaking the “Sabbath of his days,” for he is

<sup>1</sup> I, 55.

<sup>2</sup> I, 67.

<sup>3</sup> II, 131 f.

<sup>4</sup> I, 7.

<sup>5</sup> I, 13.

<sup>6</sup> II, 137.

<sup>7</sup> *Sat.* II, ii, 116 f.

<sup>8</sup> II, 159.

<sup>9</sup> II, 150.

<sup>10</sup> *Hours in a Library*, I, 107.



Now sick alike of envy and of praise,  
Public too long, ah ! let me hide my age.<sup>1</sup>

This is pure affectation in Pope. He never reached that stage in his career where he desired silence. In fact, the ready comment is Pope's own words in another *Imitation*—

I, who so oft renounce the Muses, lie,  
Not ——'s self e'er tells more lies than I,<sup>2</sup>—

a statement none the less true because it is almost an exact translation of

Ipsæ ego, qui nullos me adfirmo scribere versus,  
Invenior Parthis mendacior.<sup>3</sup>

He usually called it equivocating genteelly.

When he depreciates himself and his profession in the *Epistle to Augustus*<sup>4</sup> he does so in a bantering spirit, which is in contrast to Horace's respectful attitude towards the Emperor; this too brings out more strikingly the satirical nature of his address to the King.<sup>5</sup>

Pope's defense of his use of satire as an attack on "Shameless, guilty men,"<sup>6</sup> follows Horace rather closely. Like Horace he professes to be "to Virtue only and her friends a friend,"<sup>7</sup> but unlike the Roman he lacks the graciousness which enables him to live up to his profession. Personal feeling entered too largely into his verse for it to be conceived of as governed by such abstract principles of morality as a disinterested pursuit of virtue.<sup>8</sup> There is something amusing in his protestations that he will strip the gilding off a knave or perish in the generous cause, when we realize that his zeal against the knave was usually the result of personal animus or a contempt for dulness rather than the sincere devotion of his genius to the cause of virtue.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> III, 4.

<sup>2</sup> V, 175.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep.* II, i, 111 f.

<sup>4</sup> V, 358.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. also II, 84, 86, for additional references to his art.

<sup>6</sup> I, 105.

<sup>7</sup> I, 120; *Sat.* II, i, 70.

<sup>8</sup> See Leslie Stephen's interesting essay on "Pope as a Moralist" in his *Hours in a Library*, Vol. I.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. I, 42, 75, 105 f., 133.

There is a note of insincerity, due as much to his desire to render his original as to any wish to impose on the public, in the advice he makes the voice of reason utter—

Friend Pope! be prudent, let your muse take breath  
And never gallop Pegasus to death,<sup>1</sup>

and in his resolution to act on this advice—

Farewell then verse, and love, and every toy,  
The rhymes and rattles of the man or boy;  
What right, what true, what fit we justly call,  
Let this be all my care—for this is all.<sup>2</sup>

This was a pose which Pope was fond of but which deceived no one.<sup>3</sup>

He can with considerable honesty follow Horace in saying that he is sworn to no sect, for both in political and religious matters he was less of a partisan than many in those days of intensely bitter party feeling. Though a Catholic and a Tory, he followed neither party to their wildest extremes. Yet he was not the man of moderation he would have us suppose. He would not prostitute his pen to flattery; he could honestly say—

And when I flatter, let my dirty leaves . . .  
Clothe spice, line trunks, or, fluttering in a row,  
Befringe the rails of Bedlam or Soho.<sup>4</sup>

One of the noblest traits of his character is his treatment of his friends as recorded in his poetic tribute to them. So unmistakable, in fact, was his praise that his delicate irony is revealed when he says he dare not address George II in panegyric strains,<sup>4</sup> and continuing he declares—

Besides a fate attends on all I write,  
That when I aim at praise, they say I bite.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> III, 13.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, l. 269.

<sup>5</sup> v, 410 f.

<sup>2</sup> III, 17. Cf. vi, 28.

<sup>4</sup> v, 405 f.

## PARODY.

Pope's Imitation of Horace's *Epistle to Augustus* (II, i) is, in so far as it has reference to George II, distinctly a parody of his original. Horace treated his Emperor with all respect as a beneficent patron of literature; George II., who all his life was utterly indifferent to poetry, could be addressed by Pope only ironically, if the form of the Horatian Epistle was to be preserved. And in this parody the irony of Pope is at its keenest and his wit is most brilliant. He is not fettered by his original beyond being indebted to it for the suggestions he developes, and he is thus enabled to give free scope to his fancy.

Pope represents his sovereign as great abroad,<sup>1</sup> when his sole interests were those of his electorate, and the only weight England had in continental affairs was due not to George but to his minister, Sir Robert Walpole, and his queen. At home he amends "morals, arts, and laws,"<sup>2</sup> to all three of which he was equally and hopelessly indifferent. In the same way Pope amuses himself over George's attitude towards poetry.<sup>3</sup>

Further instances of parody are found in the other *Imitations*. Thus Pope burlesques what Horace says<sup>4</sup> in reply to the advice of Trebatius that he write Caesar's deeds, by a ludicrous description of Blackmore's panegyrics on the king—

What? like Sir Richard, rumbling, rough, and fierce,  
With arms, and George, and Brunswick crowd the verse,  
Rend with tremendous sound your ears asunder,  
With gun, drum, trumpet, blunderbuss, and thunder?<sup>5</sup>

Cibber, too, he impales in a parody of Horace's

Quanto rectius hoc quam tristi laedere versu  
Pantolabum scurram Nomentanumque nepotem!<sup>6</sup>

when he says—

<sup>1</sup> ll. 2, 3, 23 f., 396 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Sat.* II, i, 13.

<sup>2</sup> l. 4.

<sup>5</sup> l. 23 f.

<sup>3</sup> ll. 356 f., 404.

<sup>6</sup> *Sat.* II, i, 21 f.

Better be Cibber I'll maintain it still  
Than ridicule all taste, blaspheme quadrille, etc.<sup>1</sup>

Describing his determination to write, he takes Horace's

Quisquis erit vitæ, scribam, color<sup>2</sup>

and parodies the resolution, using the suggestion of the word 'color'—

Whether the darkened room to muse invite,  
Or whitened wall provoke the skewer to write:  
In durance, exile, Bedlam or the mint,—  
Like Lee or Budgel, I will rhyme and print.<sup>3</sup>

"This," says Warton, "is only a wanton joke upon the terms of his original."

#### METHODS EMPLOYED BY POPE IN RENDERING HIS ORIGINAL.

*Additions.*—From the foregoing it has been observed that Pope allows himself great liberties in rendering his original. There is much that is additional in details of description, in satirical touches, in allusions to contemporary conditions, events or persons, and in autobiography. These are, however, for the most part in the direct line of Horace's thought, and are usually of not more than two or three lines. He rarely lays his original aside for any length of time; and in the few cases where the correspondence between the Latin and the English seems to fail it is usually where an exactness of parallel is impossible owing to the nature of the subject. This is most completely illustrated in the *Epistle to Augustus*.

*Expansions.*—Another means of variation from the original is by the expansion of the idea on Horace or an elaboration from the merest suggestion of the Latin. Thus Horace simply states that he writes because he cannot sleep;<sup>4</sup> this Pope renders with fuller reference to himself—

<sup>1</sup> I, 37.

<sup>2</sup> *Sat.* II, i, 60.

<sup>3</sup> I, 97.

<sup>4</sup> *Sat.* II, i, 7.

Not write? but then I think,  
 And for my soul I cannot sleep a wink.  
 I nod in company, I wake at night,  
 Fools rush into my head and so I write.<sup>1</sup>

For Horace's resolve—

*Detrahere et pellem, nitidus qua quisque per ora  
 Cederet, introrsum turpis*—<sup>2</sup>

Pope vows to

Brand the bold front of shameless guilty men;  
 Dash the proud gamester in his gilded car;  
 Bare the mean heart that lurks beneath a star.<sup>3</sup>

Again he will enlarge a word or phrase as "This jealous, waspish, wrong-head, rhyming race"<sup>4</sup> for "*genus irritabile vatum*,"<sup>5</sup> or for "*scribimus*"<sup>6</sup> he will have "rhyme and scrawl and scribble to a man,"<sup>7</sup> where in both cases the idea is not elaborated. So the one word "*abi*"<sup>8</sup> is rendered, "I wish you joy, Sir, of a tyrant gone."<sup>9</sup> For the simple expressions of Horace Pope, indulging in the fault of eighteenth century style, uses ornate expressions; thus, for "*piscemur, venemur*"<sup>10</sup> we have "drive the deer and drag the finny prey;"<sup>11</sup> or for "*Hunc solem et stellas et decedentia certis Tempora momentis*,"<sup>12</sup> the grandiloquent—

This vault of air, this congregated ball,  
 Self-centred sun, and stars that rise and fall.<sup>13</sup>

The Latin poet speaks of works among which a word shines,<sup>14</sup> and the imitator, not content with elaborating the verb "*emicuit*" into

That solitary shines  
 In the dry desert of a thousand lines,<sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I, 11 f.

<sup>4</sup> VI, 148.

<sup>7</sup> V, 189.

<sup>10</sup> Ep. I, vi, 57.

<sup>13</sup> IV, 5 f.

<sup>2</sup> Sat. II, i, 64f.

<sup>5</sup> Ep. II, ii, 102.

<sup>8</sup> Ep. II, ii, 206.

<sup>11</sup> IV, 113.

<sup>14</sup> Ep. II, i, 73.

<sup>3</sup> I, 106 f.

<sup>6</sup> Ep. II, i, 117.

<sup>9</sup> VI, 305.

<sup>12</sup> Ep. I, vi, 3.

<sup>15</sup> V, 111.

bases on it a simile, which is without a correspondent in Horace—

Like twinkling stars the Miscellanies o'er.<sup>1</sup>

*Concrete for abstract.*—Another respect in which Pope differs from his original is in his using the definite, personal, or concrete illustration for the indefinite, impersonal, or abstract statement of the Latin. Pope will “gain a knighthood or the bays,”<sup>2</sup> while Horace will seek “multa laborum Praemia.”<sup>3</sup> The Latin “quis amicus”<sup>4</sup> becomes in the English “Plums and Directors, Shylock and his wife,”<sup>5</sup> another sarcastic reference to Wortley Montagu and Lady Mary. Horace speaks indefinitely of pale guests at a banquet,<sup>6</sup> but Pope satirizes the civic and the ecclesiastical feasts.<sup>7</sup>

The frequent use of illustration and concrete statement in the English version makes up for the greater succinctness of the Latin. Writing nearly twice as many lines as Horace,<sup>8</sup> Pope endeavors by this means to reproduce the spirit and vivacity of the original. And herein lies the excellence of the *Imitations*.

*Shifting.*—One of the minor variations of Pope from his original is a natural and comparatively unimportant one, the shifting of a thought from one part of the poem to another. This change in arrangement is not frequent, for on the whole he follows Horace's order faithfully. It consists in transferring a sentence from one part of a paragraph to another, or at most from one paragraph to another. The former is seen in carrying from the end of the Latin paragraph to the beginning of the corresponding English one, the general statement which is exemplified in a number of concrete instances. “Each mortal has his pleasure,”<sup>9</sup> says Pope, and he proceeds to enumerate some of them; Horace, after giving his examples, says—

<sup>1</sup> v, 110.

<sup>2</sup> i, 22.

<sup>3</sup> *Sat.* ii, i, 11.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 61.

<sup>5</sup> i, 103.

<sup>6</sup> *Sat.* ii, ii, 76.

<sup>7</sup> i, 75.

<sup>8</sup> 1403 English to 884 Latin lines.

<sup>9</sup> i, 45.

Quot capitum vivunt, totidem studiorum  
Milia.<sup>1</sup>

The change of order involving also a change of connection in thought is found in several instances. Horace speaks of Ofella in his field in the midst of his sons and cattle;<sup>2</sup> Pope, who in this case had put himself forward instead of Bethel, cannot carry out the parallel; but later when, dealing further with autobiographical details, he deserts his original, he shows that he has Horace's line in mind since he makes Swift exclaim: "Pity! to build without a house or wife,"<sup>3</sup> the wife taking the place of the Latin "pecore."<sup>4</sup> Horace, speaking of the bad judgment shown by Alexander in his choice of a poor poet for his panegyrist, says—

Sed veluti tractata notam labemque remittunt  
Atramenta, fere scriptores carmine foedo  
Splendida facta linunt.<sup>5</sup>

In this connection Pope omits this remark, but when a few lines later he makes a mock apology for not singing George's praises, which corresponds to Horace's genuine apology, he brings in this idea in—

A vile encomium doubly ridiculous:  
There's nothing blackens like the ink of fools.<sup>6</sup>

*Minor changes.*—There are some minor changes which better suit English conditions or Pope's temper or whim than a literal rendering of the original would have done. Horace tells a wealthy miser that the time will come when he will be without the money to buy a rope to hang himself with;<sup>7</sup> Pope says—

Buy a rope that future times may tell  
Thou hast at least bestowed one penny well.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Sat.* II, i, 27; cf. II, 10 (*Sat.* II, ii, 3).

<sup>2</sup> *Sat.* II, ii, 115.

<sup>3</sup> II, 163.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. II, 29 (*Sat.* II, ii, 63); III, 71 (*Ep.* I, i, 44); V, 26 (*Ep.* II, i, 19).

<sup>5</sup> *Ep.* II, i, 235 f.

<sup>6</sup> V, 410.

<sup>7</sup> *Sat.* II, ii, 98.

<sup>8</sup> II, 109.

As a comparison of the slowness with which the time passes that keeps him from the study of truth, Horace mentions the weariness of the night for those deceived by their lady-loves;<sup>1</sup> Pope uses the other edge of the satire in

Long as the night to her whose love's away,<sup>2</sup>

making the satire against woman, if anything, keener. Pope renders Horace's lines on Nævius—

Nævius in manibus non est et manibus haeret  
Paene recens?<sup>3</sup>

by words the exact opposite, with Cowley in the place of Nævius—

Who now reads Cowley?<sup>4</sup>

*Change of application.*—Pope's cleverness in imitating his original and in finding parallels where the literal rendering would not suit his fancy is seen in the happy turn he sometimes gives to the Latin by a slight change of its application. Thus, Horace says—

Nunc in Aristippi furtim praecepta relabor,  
Et mihi res, non me rebus subjungere conor,<sup>5</sup>

which Pope renders—

Back to my native moderation slide  
And win my way by yielding to the tide.<sup>6</sup>

The expression, "yielding to the tide"—an incorrect rendering, by the way, of "subjungere," which means about the opposite,—was probably suggested by "civilibus undis;"<sup>7</sup> "glide" too is taken from l. 18 where it is used by Horace in direct connection with Aristippus. Horace's mention of an actor's ease of movement in taking the part of a Satyr or a Cyclops<sup>8</sup> recalls to Pope his lines from the *Essay on Criticism*, which he slightly alters in

<sup>1</sup>*Ep.* i, i, 20.

<sup>2</sup>III, 36.

<sup>3</sup>*Ep.* ii, i, 53.

<sup>4</sup>v, 75.

<sup>5</sup>*Ep.* i, i, 19 f.

<sup>6</sup>III, 33 f.

<sup>7</sup>*Ep.* i, i, 16.

<sup>8</sup>*Ep.* ii, ii, 125.



But ease in writing comes from art, not chance;  
As those move easiest who have learned to dance.<sup>1</sup>

The connection is the same in both cases, but Pope's comparison loses the vigor which Horace's gains by the conciseness of the Latin and the concrete illustration. The concreteness is on the other side when Pope renders "*Escae quae simplex olim tibi sederit*"<sup>2</sup> as "The schoolboy's simple fare,"<sup>3</sup> but the terseness of the original is lost in "The temperate feasts and spirits light as air."<sup>4</sup> Since it was no longer the custom to sprinkle the stage with liquid perfumes or bestrew it with flowers, Horace's allusion to this in his mention of the playwright Atta<sup>5</sup> cannot be rendered into English in this connection; but yet Pope seizes the idea of the flowers and makes a pretty reference to Shakspeare's birthplace in

On Avon's banks where flowers eternal blow.<sup>6</sup>

On the mere hint in "*dotalibus agris*"<sup>7</sup> Pope substitutes for Horace's illustration of financial rivalry with a man who married wealth that of the rivalry in love of a worthy man beaten by the "rich dulness of a son of earth."<sup>8</sup> Horace concedes to Trebatius that his advice not to write is the best—"Peream male, si non Optimum erat;"<sup>9</sup> Pope makes Mr. Fortescue assure him that to write is the worst thing he could do.<sup>10</sup> Horace, in describing Caesar's victories, speaks of "*labentis equo . . . Parthi*,"<sup>11</sup> and Pope in his parody of this vigorous description transfers the epithet to the horse—"Angels trembling round his falling horse"<sup>12</sup>—George taking the place of the Parthian. The Latin poet describes Pollux as "*ovo prognatus eodem*" as his brother Castor,<sup>13</sup> and this Pope cleverly imitates in

Like in all else as one egg to another,<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> VI, 178.

<sup>2</sup> *Sat.* II, ii, 72.

<sup>3</sup> II, 73.

<sup>4</sup> I, 74.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep.* II, i, 79.

<sup>6</sup> V, 119.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep.* I, vi, 21.

<sup>8</sup> IV, 43.

<sup>9</sup> *Sat.* II, i, 6 f.

<sup>10</sup> I, 15.

<sup>11</sup> *Sat.* II, i, 15.

<sup>12</sup> I, 28.

<sup>13</sup> *Sat.* II, i, 26.

<sup>14</sup> I, 49.

substituting the Fox brothers for Castor and Pollux. The live pig that will disturb Horace's poetical meditations in the streets of Rome<sup>1</sup> becomes as actual a destroyer of good poetry in the "pig of lead," which, "God knows, may hurt the very ablest head."<sup>2</sup>

*Suggestions from the form of the word.*—There are a few instances of renderings which were manifestly suggested either by the form of the word or by another meaning than that employed in the text. In the line

Then cheerful healths (your mistress shall have place)<sup>3</sup>

Pope's allusion to the mistress was evidently suggested by Horace's employment of the word "Magistra" in

Post hoc ludus erat culpa potare magistra,<sup>4</sup>

where, with an entirely different meaning, it may be translated in the words of Prof. Conington as a "fine to do the *chairman's* work." Horace's "divinae auræ,"<sup>5</sup> which occurs in his ridicule of the doctrine of immortality, by showing the effects of a banquet on the human soul perhaps suggests to Pope his ridicule of the effects of a clergy feast on *divines*,<sup>6</sup> since in the original the banquet is no special one. For this passage, however, it may be said that the idea of the Epicurean Horace satirizing contemporary orthodoxy may be hint enough for Pope's scorn of the lax morals of the clergy. The Latin oath 'Pol'<sup>7</sup> suggests by its mere spelling the common English "Pox."<sup>8</sup> The use of "accisis"<sup>9</sup> applied to Ofella's wealth suggests as much by its form as its meaning the word "excised" in

The Lord of thousands now if once excised.<sup>10</sup>

In Horace's ironical advice for the attainment of power and mob applause he recommends hiring a slave to point out the

<sup>1</sup>*Ep.* II, ii, 75.

<sup>4</sup>*Sat.* II, ii, 123.

<sup>7</sup>*Ep.* II, ii, 133.

<sup>9</sup>*Sat.* II, ii, 114.

<sup>2</sup>VI, 102.

<sup>5</sup>*Sat.* II, ii, 79.

<sup>8</sup>VI, 195.

<sup>10</sup>II, 134.

<sup>3</sup>II, 149.

<sup>6</sup>II, 80.

men to whom court should be paid and then greeting them courteously as father, brother—

Ut cunque est aetas, ita quemque facetus adopta;<sup>1</sup>

Pope in rendering this—

Then turn about, and laugh at your own jest<sup>2</sup>—

may have been misled as to Horace's meaning, which in this case is 'courteous,' by the resemblance of the word to its English derivative "facetious."<sup>3</sup>

#### THE IMITATIONS SEPARATELY CONSIDERED.

*Satire*, II, i.—There was much in the first satire of the second book of Horace to suggest to Lord Bolingbroke that it would suit Pope's case if he were to imitate it in English. Its general theme was satire, wherein his strength lay; it touched on the poet's personal characteristics, his biography, and his favor with the great—subjects in which he was always happy; it satirized the dunces and others equally deserving, whom he had made sport of in the *Dunciad*; it contained a strong statement of the poet's moral purpose, on which he was never weary of descanting.

On the other hand there was genuine praise for Lucilius and a frank acknowledgment by Horace of his predecessor's superiority—neither of which Pope was ever too ready to give to any other poet. There was, too, the subject's loyal regard for his Emperor as well as the poet's gratitude for the royal favor; and in neither case could Pope follow his original.

<sup>1</sup> *Ep.* I, vi, 55.

<sup>2</sup> IV, 134.

<sup>3</sup> Could Pope's "martyr" in "For matrimonial solace dies a martyr (III, 151) have been suggested by the form "maritis" in the corresponding line in Horace—"jurat bene solis esse maritis" (*Ep.* I, i, 89)? or "charity" in "The boys and girls whom charity maintains" (v, 231), by "castis" in "castis cum pueris" (*Ep.* II, i, 132)? The words are like enough to make me bold in venturing the query.

Pope declares himself "to virtue only and her friends a friend,"<sup>1</sup> a sentiment Horace attributes to Lucilius,<sup>2</sup> who has confided all his secrets to his book. Horace modestly rates himself below Lucilius and seeks to follow his example; Pope disregards other poets as his model and gives special prominence to his favor with the great. Further than this, Pope takes as correspondents to Lucilius who have celebrated Caesar's praises the miserable Sir Richard Blackmore<sup>3</sup> and the Laureate Colley Cibber.<sup>4</sup> He ironically refers to the king's distaste for poetry and his none too enviable reputation in foreign politics,<sup>5</sup> in the tone of the *Epistle to Augustus*.

The *Imitation* is much more directly personal in its character than its original. Not that Horace's satire is not strictly personal, but his personality is veiled behind Lucilius's and only indirectly does the poem concern the poet himself. Pope, on the other hand, uses none of this indirectness; he employs the first personal pronoun throughout. It is in this way that he has given an essentially Popian character to the Horatian original. There is no incongruity in fitting English characters and conditions into the form he had adapted from the Latin, none of the "irreconcilable dissimilarities" Dr. Johnson speaks of. To no period of English literature does the theme of this satire more properly belong; and to the genius of no poet could it be more excellently adapted than to Pope's. The subject being literary, the conflict between "Roman images and English manners" was reduced to insignificance. The peculiarities in the social and political life of Rome are touched upon mainly as illustration, and where fitting parallels are not to hand, Pope disregards the references. There is more freedom exercised here in rendering the original than in any of the others with the exception of the Fifth. The subject was one of direct personal interest to him, and by putting his own spirit into

<sup>1</sup> l. 121.<sup>2</sup> l. 70.<sup>3</sup> l. 23 f.<sup>4</sup> l. 34 f.<sup>5</sup> l. 35 f.

his version he brought it up to the level of his best satirical poetry. It is Pope and not the translator of Horace who is speaking.

Along with this personal conviction went also a more caustic tone than that which pervades Horace. Though the latter can hardly be spoken of as "touching the foibles of mankind with delicacy and urbanity,"<sup>1</sup> when he mentions Cervius, Canidia, and Turius, the criticism holds true of the general character of the satire. But of Pope it is not so. There is strong personal malignity in his verses on Sappho and contempt not merely for dulness in the abstract in his remarks on Blackmore and Cibber. As Professor Courthope says: "The style of Horace is genial and pleasant; Pope is fierce and denunciatory; fine as his declamation is, it is much more in the manner of Juvenal than of Horace."<sup>2</sup>

*Satire*, II, ii.—The second satire of the second book, being in Horace the praise of temperance in the mouth of the rude countryman, Ofella, suits neither Pope himself nor the age in which he lived. Temperance was by no means one of Pope's virtues. As a young man in 1715 he said to Caryll: "I sit up till one or two o'clock every night over Burgundy and Champagne, and am become so much a modern rake that I shall be ashamed in a short time to be thought to do any sort of business." This was an indulgence, however, which his physical frame could ill endure and which, too, was largely an affectation. Yet he never wholly abandoned it; and Dr. King testified that Pope "certainly hastened his end by feeding much on high-seasoned dishes and drinking spirits."<sup>3</sup> Regret as he might the immediate consequences of high living, he did not find in intemperance the same occasion for satire that he saw in dulness or the ostentation of wealth. Not that he never satirized gluttony, for he was not the man

<sup>1</sup> Warton's *Essay on Pope*, I, 172.

<sup>2</sup> Note to II. 105-121, Elwin-Courthope, *Pope*, III. See also Courthope's Introduction to this *Satire*, p. 278.

<sup>3</sup> *Anecdotes*, p. 12.

to lose any chance for attacking his enemies ; but he did not infuse into this subject the vehemence of his personality.

Again, the satire was not fitting to Pope's age. As Prof. Courthope says :<sup>1</sup> "The luxurious Romans of the day might admire in poetry, while they despised in real life, the 'wise saws and rude mother wit' of the rustic Ofella, preserving as these did the flavor of the old Roman simplicity inculcated by Cato the Censor. But to suppose that a society, like that of England under George II., which had by no means lost the principle of liberty and which was working out a new order of taste and refinement, would listen to the commonplace moralizing of a country gentleman like Bethel, showed a curious absence of Pope's usual shrewdness and judgment."

Accordingly we notice that as long as Pope keeps to this subject,<sup>2</sup> he follows Horace more closely than he did in the first *Imitation*, and only in the few personal references does he write with his usual keenness. In the latter part of the satire,<sup>3</sup> where he follows the same course of treatment of his original that distinguishes the first *Imitation*, he takes the place of Ofella, and treats of a subject dear to his own heart without more than a general regard to the Horatian text. And here the level of his satire rises with his increased interest in his topic. In this "we may doubtless," to quote Prof. Courthope, "discover the motive of the *Imitation*."<sup>4</sup>

Moreover, the tone or character of the eighteenth century is not given by the substitution of mere details applicable to English life for those which Horace used, such as English fish and fowl for Roman or the rank venison of our fathers for the rancid boar of Horace's ancestors. Even those free adaptations and expansions of the original, which are usually in Pope's cleverest manner, are in this *Imitation* not all up to his high standard of excellence. His satire on a clergy or a city feast<sup>5</sup> is rather heavy, as is that on the wealthy lord who

<sup>1</sup> Elwin-Courthope, *Pope*, III, 305.

<sup>2</sup> II. 1-128.

<sup>4</sup> Courthope-Elwin, *Pope*, III, 304.

<sup>3</sup> II. 129 to end.

1. 76 f.

prides himself on having a taste.<sup>1</sup> His characterization of Avidien's wife<sup>2</sup> is gross without being clever; and the satire on her and her husband's meanness is with the possible exception of a couple of lines<sup>3</sup> an infelicitous imitation of the original.

*Epistle*, I, i.—In the first Epistle of the first book, Horace, says Prof. Courthope,<sup>4</sup> “pretends to excuse himself for his laziness in writing, on high stoic principles; the gravity with which he elaborates his philosophy; the fidelity with which he copies the minute manner of the stoics in reasoning about common places; and the final bathos about the cough, are all admirable.” This hardly seems to me Horace's idea in this Epistle. He not infrequently brings in the jest, as here in the last line, not to indicate that all which preceded is mock gravity, but to lighten the seriousness of the moral teaching. He had been silent for four years since the publication of the first three books of the *Odes*, and naturally this long interval would be the subject of friendly criticism by Maecenas and would call for an explanation from the poet. “He had,” as Prof. Sellar says,<sup>5</sup> “gradually adopted a more retired and meditative life, and had become fonder of the country and of study, and that while owing allegiance to no school or sect of philosophy, he was framing for himself a scheme of life, was endeavoring to conform to it, and was bent on inculcating it on others.” Accordingly, though he treats his silence with a certain amount of playfulness, he is not lacking in sincerity nor merely parodying the Stoic philosophy in his excuses, when he declares that he wishes to leave poetry for the search of what is right and true, or when he inveighs against the craving for wealth and the moral and intellectual disorder of the Romans.

The situation was not the same in Pope's case. He had not been silent at all, the sixth epistle of the first book having

<sup>1</sup> l. 111 f.

<sup>2</sup> l. 50.

<sup>3</sup> ll. 55, 56.

<sup>4</sup> Elwin-Courthope, *Pope*, III, 328.

<sup>5</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica*, “Horace.”

been produced the year before. Further Pope never did nor desired to forsake poetry for philosophy. His studies in the latter were most desultory and never advanced beyond the teachings of his guide, philosopher, and friend Bolingbroke.

In the first part of the *Imitation*, accordingly, with the exception of the happy rendering of "senescentem equum"<sup>1</sup> by the figure of Pegasus,<sup>2</sup> Pope follows his original without much spirit. His variations from Horace are weak, and his expressions often lifeless<sup>3</sup> and even in one instance obscure.<sup>4</sup> In one place<sup>5</sup> he loses sight of philosophy with which he started out and for it substitutes "Rhymes."

He redeems himself, however, in the latter part of the *Imitation*<sup>6</sup> with his satire on the rage for wealth; and here again, as Prof. Courthope<sup>7</sup> indicates, is his probable motive for rendering the Epistle. Pope cordially detested the insane thirst for gold that consumed English society, and he spoke with no insincere voice when he enveighed against it. It gave him, too, an opportunity for satirizing his enemies whom he could accuse of this vice. But even in this better part of the *Imitation* he is not at his best; the correspondence of the box at the opera to the Roscian Law is poor, since it fails utterly to give the point of the reference in Horace. The unity of the Horatian argument is broken by Pope's two correspondents for the "Bellua multorum capitum" in the court and the mob, thus giving him a chance for his favorite satire on the court but necessitating a forced contrast between it and the people.<sup>8</sup> The satire in this case does not rise above the commonplace and is, therefore, no sufficient excuse for the break in the thought. In his description of the fickleness of all classes, however, Pope, with his accustomed vigor, has depicted society as it existed in England. His satire has the energy of his best work. So, too, his final address to Lord

<sup>1</sup> l. 8.<sup>2</sup> l. 13 f.<sup>3</sup> ll. 45 f., 59 f., 69 f., 98 f.<sup>4</sup> ll. 43, 44.<sup>5</sup> l. 59 f.<sup>6</sup> ll. 97 to end.<sup>7</sup> Elwin-Courthope, *Pope*, III, 329.<sup>8</sup> Elwin-Courthope, *Pope*, III, 339, note.



Bolingbroke, though especially appropriate neither to himself nor to his friend, is in Pope's happiest manner, his malignity against Lady Mary and his scorn for comfortable prelates adding sharpness to his wit.

*Epistle*, I, vi.—The sixth epistle of the first book is in Horace's most characteristic manner, for not only is the subject one that well suited him as a seasoned man of the world, whose philosophic studies induced indifference to the high moral end of life, but it is also especially appropriate to the cynicism of the age of Augustus. Horace and his contemporaries could weigh virtue and pleasure in the balance with utter carelessness as to which kicked the beam, as long as the individual's present happiness were assured. "Adapt your means to your end; above all preserve your equanimity,"<sup>1</sup> is the advice Horace gives to his willing pupils.

Now this is a doctrine essentially pagan and not one that Pope could treat *con amore*, Warburton to the contrary notwithstanding. It was hardly possible for the author of the *Essay on Man*, who professed to be a Christian apologist and thought his essay was a remarkable vindication of the ways of God to man, even to affect to make his own this piece of pagan philosophy. Further, Pope was not a man who could assume effectively even the appearance of indifference in either the greater or lesser concerns of life. His moral standard, it is true, was not high—probably no higher or lower than that of his century—but he thoroughly believed in preaching the virtue which he followed afar off. To remain consistent, therefore, with his preaching, he gives a serious tone to Horace's flippancy, holds up to public scorn what the Roman treats with comparative leniency, and gives to the whole Epistle the character of a *reductio ad absurdum* proof of the insufficiency of any but a virtuous life. Pope's text, then, is not "nil admirari," as he announces at the beginning, but the opposite. The solemnity with which he refers to death;<sup>2</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> Elwin-Courthope, *Pope*, III, 317.

<sup>2</sup> l. 50 f.

bitter tone of sarcasm running through his advice to try other ways to happiness than that of virtue; the coupling of such names as Lords Kinnoul and Tyrawley with the life of the stewards, of Rochester and Swift with the pursuit of love and jest, and of Tindal with heterodoxy, shows plainly a moral earnestness not found in his original. It was not, then, the theme which in itself attracted Pope, but the opportunity Horace's easy treatment of the race for honors, wealth and self indulgence gave him to satirize the corresponding vices of his later day. And in just such satire he is at his best; even though he makes it his boast that he lives among the great, and is not averse to their attention, he is none less their satirist. He never sold his soul to wealth or rank. The personal references which never fail to tell in the hands of Pope largely supplement Horace's small list.

*Epistle*, II, i.—The Imitation of the first epistle of the second book is generally conceded to be the best. In it Pope has allowed himself more freedom in his adaptation of his original than in the others, even to the extent of parodying Horace's serious address to Augustus, which is the framework into which the matter proper of the epistle is fitted. The subject, being a criticism of the public taste in ancient and modern literature, lent itself as easily to treatment by an English poet of the eighteenth century as by a Roman of the first; it afforded fine scope, moreover, for personal satire. In dealing with such a subject, Pope was brought into direct critical relation with his enemies the dunces as well as with the great poets. The parallels are most ingenious, and with a few exceptions are not far-fetched. The exceptions are the imitation of Horace's account of the origin of satire;<sup>1</sup> the parallel of France conquered by England to Greece conquered by Rome;<sup>2</sup> that of the public recitations;<sup>3</sup> that of the progress of taste since the Restoration as compared with that during Greek and Roman history.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> II. 241-262.<sup>2</sup> II. 263-275.<sup>3</sup> II. 362-3.<sup>4</sup> II. 139-188. See Elwin-Courthope, *Pope*, notes *loc. cit.*

Pope's indignation towards the people is not so much for their preference for the older poets as for their neglect of the modern,<sup>1</sup> and to be thoroughly honest he should have added that he lost his patience more for the imaginary neglect of his own than for the real neglect of any other poet's work, ancient or modern. His usual attitude was not jealousy for modern reputations. No man did more than he to destroy his poetical contemporaries. His satire on the stage followed easily on the track of Horace, for he cherished bitter feelings against the theatre after the unfortunate collapse of *Three Hours after Marriage*, of which he was part author. But instead of singing the praises of epic poetry, as Horace did, in contrast with the degeneration of the drama, and showing how it might fitly be employed in recounting the stories of the reign of Augustus, Pope turns Horace's eulogy into a keen ironical onslaught on the English king, and declares his inability to do justice to the triumphs of his reign.

*Epistle*, II, ii.—As in the first epistle of the first book, Horace in the second epistle of the second book declares his resolution to devote himself to philosophy instead of to poetry. He gives here various reasons for no longer writing poetry, such as the removal of the spur of poverty, the difficulty of pleasing all, the necessity of keeping on good terms with the "genus irritabile vatum," and the extreme labor of producing good verse. If, he says, his bad verses could please him or he could avoid knowing they were bad, he should be content to be a scribbler; but as it is, he is resolved to cease from poetry and study philosophy.

Now this is not Pope's case; and with the exception of the opportunity it affords for autobiography, and for satire against the race of scribblers and the moneyed class, it is not one which would call out his sympathies. He had not been silent like Horace, nor had his object in writing originally been merely for pecuniary gain. He was not actuated by any ardent desire to please all—rather he took pleasure in the

<sup>1</sup>l. 115 f.

opposite—and he never felt called upon to keep on good terms with the “jealous, waspish, wronghead, rhyming race.” The labor of producing good verse never kept him from writing, great as the burden was. Nor was he the man to profess a creed of contentment with bad poetry as long as he himself is ignorant of its badness. Philosophy, too, was always secondary to poetry.

The subject being thus so ill-adapted to Pope’s mind and art, it is not a matter of surprise that this *Imitation* is on the whole inferior. “The line of thought,” as Prof. Courthope points out, “is very disconnected. In following Horace in detail Pope does not seem to have understood the argument of his original.”<sup>1</sup>

The satire and the autobiographical portions are, as is usual, the best. Other correspondences to Horace are not so happy : the case of the British soldier flatly disobeying his general’s orders is impossible, and that of the imaginary member of Parliament improbable. The moralizing of the close is prosaic, lacking the vigor and terseness of the original.

JAMES W. TUPPER.

<sup>1</sup> Elwin-Courthope, *Pope*, III, 388.